



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

as we become conscious of an ever-increasing debt of gratitude to those who have forgiven us and of responsibility towards those whom we must forgive; as we realize that cruel and degrading acts do not cease to be our own, because we do not like reading about them, or would rather have nothing to do with the agents whom we hire to perform them; as we believe more and more fully that the mercy of man to his fellow is able and mighty to heal and to save.

W. J. ROBERTS.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CARDIFF.

THE MORAL EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG AMONG MUSLIMS.*

Muslim pedagogy at its best, like the best of all phases of Muslim civilization, is a legitimate and worthy descendent from the Greek stock. Plato and Aristotle were its parents. These two, indeed, turned Turk and speaking Arabic, form the intellectual life of Islām. True, this is only of things at the best. The Western comment is to the point that in the East the young idea is taught not to shoot, but to shout. Still more significant and full flavored with the sub-acid religious humor of Islām is the tradition from Muhammad, "Verily, the green rod is of the trees of Paradise."

But beyond these crudities there were minds—making, alas, too little impression—which studied the psychology of youth, methods, and curricula, and followed bravely in the traces of the Greek writers upon pedagogy. The pity was the slight effects they produced. In the translations which I shall lay before you there is little from them.

Your object, if I understand rightly, is to study and advance the ethical training of the young in independence of any definite theological instruction. That would to all orthodox Muhammadans be an impious absurdity—absurd, because

* A lecture given in a course on "The Moral Training of the Young in Ancient and Modern Times," under the auspices of the Philadelphia Society for Ethical Culture.

against the laws of thought; impious, because against the revealed Word of God—as a whole, simply unthinkable. A moment must be given to this, which conditions the whole ethical attitude of the Muslim East. With regard to it their theologians reckon three parties and three views, two orthodox and one heretical. The heretics—the Mu'tazilites—held that man had a certain sense of good and evil; that from it he could develop a knowledge of God and the moral law; that then the prophets came and strengthened this sense and drove this law home. This position Islām has definitely and finally rejected. The other two parties—the Ash'arites and Mātārīdites—both orthodox, held and hold that man has no such faculty; that the moral law depends upon the will of God and must be revealed by Him through prophets. Thus, man apart from the revelation of God cannot know whether an action is right or wrong. The two parties differ only in that the Ash'arites hold that man, unassisted by revelation, cannot even reach the knowledge of the existence of God, while the Mātārīdites admit so much power in human faculties, but deny that man can go on to construct a law for himself. The effect of this, of course, is that ethics are absolutely dependent upon revealed religion, and can only be taught as contained in a sacred book and imparted by an inspired teacher.

Whence, then, you may ask, came the knowledge of right and wrong which is to be found among the heathen outside the circle of Islām? The answer is, roughly, two-fold. First, it must be remembered that God has been revealing Himself and His will from the beginning of the world by means of a goodly fellowship of prophets, now to one people, now to another. It is true that mankind has always been corrupting, forgetting, abandoning these prophets and their teachings. But, nevertheless, there has come thus to exist, scattered through the world, an immense mass of imperfect and mingled information as to the will of God. Only in Islām is it still retained in its purity. Further, Islām, beginning with Muhammad himself, has shown a most interesting syncretistic tendency. The sages and heroes of past times are often accepted by it as prophets in more or less regular standing. Thus Luqmān, such an

early sage, and a fabulist confused inextricably with Æsop, is a prophet, even in the Qur'ān. So, too, Job, and, very differently, Alexander the Great. But, secondly, besides this great gift of prophecy scattered thus broadly through the lands, Islām teaches the existence of minor prophetic gifts closely akin to the *χαρίσματα* of the early Christian Church. These, consisting of illumination and supernatural powers, are bestowed by God on those who have striven to approach Him by ascetic exercises and utter devotion of mind and body; who, in a word, are saints. To them God reveals Himself and reveals also themselves, and it is upon the experiences and teaching of these that the whole science of ethics, as developed and taught, for example, by the Greek thinkers, is based. All your laws, then, and theories upon this subject, all your analysis of the qualities of the mind, your summing and tabulating of defects and your exercises to meet them, go back in the end to these saints of God, who have witnessed for Him and are witnessing for Him still. God has never left Himself without a witness, and other foundation than these witnesses can no man lay. These are not prophets; they are not sent with a message to deliver to mankind; they are saints, and part of their belief is in some one of God's prophets.

Let me dwell a little more fully on this fundamental point in the Muslim position, the basing of all human knowledge upon revelation from God, through prophets and saints. It solves for the Muhammadans the problem of the fate of the unevangelized heathen. If no message has come to them from God, their ignorance is to be excused; they will have a place in Paradise, but of a lower rank, as they have no works to their credit. Still it is evident that Islām felt that there was something out of joint in any people not having God preached to them, and the hypothesis of the existence of such people was only necessary for them in order to exhaust all possibilities. You will remember how, in "The Arabian Nights," travelers sometimes come to lands beyond the mountains and to races not of the children of Adam, and yet find them worshipping Allah and confessing Muhammad. These always tell a tale how once there appeared to them a great figure clothed in green,

who cried, "Say, 'There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is His prophet!'" and then instructed them in the saving ordinances of Islām. By such means, Islām sees to it that the true religion, on which all depends, is offered to all.

It will now, I think, be plain that, from such a point of view as this, any consideration or teaching of ethics apart from theology can only be described as an impious absurdity. I cannot, therefore, keep entirely or even at all free from theology in the sketch upon which I now enter; and I can, therefore, only ask you to bear with the eccentricity of my Muslim friends who held that the fear of God was the beginning of wisdom and of everything else.

It is true that there exist in Arabia, and are current generally in the East, a most multifarious multitude of treatises of all sizes and profundities on moral philosophy. Their subject is called "*ilm al-Akhlāq*," "the science of characters," which is a tolerable rendering of the Greek *τὰ ἠθικά*, and they, undoubtedly, all stand in some relationship with the ethical systems of Plato and Aristotle, treating these with strict eclecticism. In many the Greek element almost vanishes; in some few it greatly preponderates, being yoked most curiously and unequally with extracts from the law of Islām. Others, again, have clothed a skeleton of Greek theory with incongruous robes and trappings of Muslim religious experience, the sayings, sermons, deeds, and miracles of the Saints of the People of Muhammad. Others, again, and they are many, are frank collections of hagiology for the satisfaction and admonition of him who would be admonished. In these we wander in a wonderland of angels, jinnīs, and earthly marvels in no way different, though generally more monotonous and duller than those we meet in the enchanted world of "The Arabian Nights." In truth, it may be said, that the Muslim East has discovered the art so to construct its treatises on moral philosophy—that dullest of all sciences—that they cannot be distinguished from that book which the West regards as of the most irresponsible morality.

But, when we examine these treatises and estimate their weight in the ethical training of the East, we discover that

the Greek element has become an atrophied limb, an unused appendix. The part of them which lives and acts is that which tells the experiences, the sayings, the marvels of the pious and wise—mostly the pious—and which exhorts to the imitation of these things. For the ethical system of Islām is strictly a system of separate things—words, happenings—the imitation of which is impressed, not an ordered investigation of the nature of the Good, or of the nature and constitution of human character. The psychological analysis and scientific system and habit of the Greek mind vanish, and in their place the Semitic conception of custom and example come to rule supreme.

It would indeed be hard to overestimate the part which the customary usage (*sunna*) of Muhammad plays in Muslim life. Every pious Muslim endeavors to pattern his actions, down to the merest details, on the recorded manners and methods, words and ways, of the Prophet. Even the ordinary Muslim, not overburdened with piety, finds that his life is hedged with tolerable strictness by this prophetic precedence. Men do not ask what the right thing to do under such and such circumstances may be; they ask what the Prophet did or said. Fashion and custom are with us often mechanical enough, but they have never reached this absolute imitativeness, this complete lack of inquiry as to a governing thought or reason. But you must not think that this first appeared with Islām and with the overpowering personality of Muhammad. It was always existent in the desert. The Bedawī tribes, ruled by nothing else, were ruled by the customs of their fathers; "Our fathers have told us," was enough for them; "The paths of our fathers—the old paths—we will follow," spoke their sociological creed. This, of course, they share alike with the savage of all lands, but they retained the same unyielding conservatism long after they had passed from savagery to comparative civilization. The tales of the ancient days, the proverbs and apologues of the wise and their keen and eloquent words, when they came from a sufficiently hoar antiquity, were accepted and followed unquestionedly. So it had been before Islām; so it was after Islām. Only there then entered the especial usage of the

Prophet of God, weighted with a divine sanction which overpowered everything else. Yet in time, as I have already indicated, other elements came to hold a distinct if subordinate place. The saints had their experiences and uttered their half inspired ejaculations. Proverbs, in which Arabic is wealthy to a degree, could claim a standard and acknowledged position. Even tales of the lives of the philosophers, whose systems no one dreamt of studying, of their vicissitudes and sharp replies, of Socrates and Diogenes, of Plato and Aristotle and all the rest, contributed to this mass of moral commonplaces. The poets themselves, although Allāh had said that "they never do the thing they say" (Qur. xxvi, 226), when they had put a sufficiently prosaic maxim into a sufficiently brilliant jingle, might add their stone to the great cairn.

All these things, then, are on the lips of Islām and mould the conduct of Islām to this day. In it life is ruled by maxims, proverbs, examples of every kind; its despotisms are not tempered with epigrams, but with apposite tales and wise saws. Under its sun can be no new thing; all things have been reckoned and tried by them of old time and their judgment is to be followed.

And so with the education of the young. It is strictly on a basis of imitation. All the ways are marked out, and just as a man himself walks in these paths, so must he teach his child to go. And this duty of teaching he must take seriously. Here is a passage which gives, in short, the Muslim view of the rights of a child from his parents. It is from the *Ihyā* of al-Ghazzālī. The book is an elaborate treatise covering the whole field of religion, and its writer, who died in A. D. 1111, was the greatest doctor of the Muslim Church, a man of the intellectual rank of Augustine. He says (Vol. vi, p. 316 of Cairo edition, with commentary by the Sayyid Murtaḍā) :

"A man said to the Prophet, 'O Apostle of God! to whom must I show pious duty?' Said the Apostle, 'Show it to thy parents.' But he said, 'I have no parents.' Then said the Apostle, 'Show it to thy child. Just as thy parents have a claim against thee, so has thy child.' The Apostle said, 'May

God have compassion upon a father who guards a child as to his pious duty; that is, who does not drive him to any undutifulness by treating him badly.' Also the Apostle said, 'Deal evenly between your children as to gifts; it hath been said, "Thy child is thy odorous plant (or Basil plant) for seven years, and thy servant for seven years, thereafter he is either thine enemy or thy partner."' Anas said, 'The Prophet said, "The 'Aqīqa sacrifice is offered for a boy the seventh day, when he is named, and his head is shaved; then when he has reached six years, he is put to sleep alone, and when he has reached thirteen years, he is beaten if he does not pray. Then, when he has reached sixteen years, his father marries him; thereafter he takes him by the hand and says, I have educated thee and taught thee and married thee; I seek refuge with God from thy sin in this world and thy punishment in the next."' The Prophet said, 'Part of the right of a child against his father is that he should give him a good education and a good name.'"

Again, Muhammad himself is naturally the first and most important guide after whom men must walk and teach their children to walk. It was God Himself who educated Muhammad by those gradual revelations to him which are now gathered up for us in the Qur'ān. Now the Qur'ān itself and whatever else we know of the character of Muhammad is to educate us: this is what al-Ghazzālī has to say on the matter (*Ihyā*, vii, 91 f.):

"An exposition of how God Most High educated His beloved and chosen one Muhammad by means of the Qur'ān.

"The Apostle of God abounded in abasement and supplication to Him and was constant in prayer that He would adorn him with beauties of good breeding and graces of character. He used to say in his prayer, 'O God, make beautiful my outward and my inward fashion.' And he would say, 'O God, turn me away from characteristics that are disliked.' Then God answered his prayer in accordance with His saying, 'If ye ask me, I will answer you' (Qur. xi, 62), and sent down to him the Qur'ān and educated him thereby; so his character is the

Qur'ān. Said Sa'd b. Hishām, 'I went into 'A'isha and asked her concerning the character of the Apostle of God, and she said, "Dost thou not read the Qur'ān?" I said, "Yes, indeed." She said, "The character of the Apostle of God is the Qur'ān." ' And the Qur'ān educated him simply by means of such things as the saying of Him Most High, 'Take hold of gentleness and command kindness and turn away from the ignorant' (Qur. vii, 198). And, 'Verily God commandeth justice and fair dealing and giving to kindred, and forbiddeth wickedness and iniquity and oppressions' (Qur. xvi, 92). 'And be patient as to that which has befallen thee; lo, that springs from the absolute determination of things' (Qur. xxxi, 16). 'And he indeed who is patient and forgiveth, that indeed springs from the absolute determination of things' (Qur. xlii, 41). 'Then forgive them and overlook, verily God loveth the well-doers' (Qur. v, 16). 'Let them forgive and overlook, do ye not desire that God should forgive you?' (Qur. xxiv, 22). 'Repel with that which is better, then, lo, he between whom and thee is enmity will be as a warm friend' (Qur. xxiv, 34). 'And those who choke down anger and forgive men; and God loveth the well-doers' (Qur. iii, 128). 'Avoid much suspicion, verily some suspicion is a sin, and envy not one another and back-bite not one another' (Qur. xlix, 12).

"And when his side incisor was broken and his face was gashed on the Day of Ohod and the blood was made to flow over his face, while he was wiping the blood and saying, 'How can a people prosper which dyes the face of its prophet with blood?' and while he was praying for them to their Lord, then God Most High revealed, 'Thou hast nothing to do with the matter' (Qur. iii, 123), as an admonition to him against that. The like of such admonitions in the Qur'ān are not few. And the Prophet himself was first intended by the admonition and correction; then, from him, the light shines upon all created beings. So he was educated by the Qur'ān, and created beings are educated by him. And therefore did he say, 'I have been sent that I may perfect the graces of character.' "

Such, then, is the beginning and basis of all moral education

in Islām. The method will be shown by the following longer translation, also from al-Ghazzālī (vii, 362 ff.) :

“An exposition of the method of training boys at their earliest age and the manner of educating them and beautifying their characters.

“Know that the method of training boys is one of the most important and urgent of things. A boy is a trust with his parents and his clean heart is a precious jewel, plain and free from all engraving or form. He is prepared to receive whatever is engraved and to incline to whatever is inclined to him. Then if he is accustomed to and taught good, he grows up according to it, and is happy in this world and the next, and his parents and each of his teachers and educators share with him in his reward. But if he is accustomed to evil and neglected, as cattle are neglected, he is unhappy and perishes and the burden of the sin is on the neck of his guardians and supervisors. God, whose characteristics are Might and Majesty, has said, ‘O ye who believe, protect yourselves and your families from the Fire’ (Qur. lxvi, 6). And often a father guards his son from the fire of this world, when guarding him from the fire of the next were more fitting. Such guarding is by educating him and admonishing him and teaching him the beauties of character and keeping him from partnership with evil; not by accustoming him to ease and making adornment and the causes of luxuriousness beloved by him, that so he may squander his life in the search for them when he has grown up, and perish eternally. But it behooves that he watch him from the first, and that he do not use in rearing him and suckling him any but an excellent and pious woman who eats lawful food. For the milk which comes from unlawful food has no blessing in it. So, whenever the growth of a boy comes from it, his clay is kneaded with uncleanness and his nature inclines to what is kin to uncleanness.

“And whenever a father sees in a boy signs of discrimination, it behooves him to increase his watchfulness. The first of that is the appearance of beginnings of shame; for when he is abashed or ashamed and abandons some action, that is nothing

but the shining in of the light of reason upon him so that he sees that some things are vile and opposed to others; then he becomes ashamed at one thing rather than another. This is a gift of God Most High to him and a piece of good tidings which points to poise of character and purity of heart and gives promise of completeness of reason when he attains maturity. So it is not fitting that the boy who has reached the point of educating him in his sense of shame and discrimination.

“The first quality which will gain control of him will be greediness in eating. So it is necessary that he should be taught as to it that he should take food with the right hand only, that he should say over it, ‘In the Name of Allah!’ when he takes it; that he should eat of what is next him and not grasp at the food before another; that he should not stare at it nor at those who eat; that he should not hurry in eating, but chew well; that he should not take several bites at once, nor soil his hands or clothes; that he should be accustomed to dry bread at times so that he should not come to regard seasoning as necessary; that much eating should be vilified to him by comparing all those who eat much to cattle, and by blaming before him the boy who eats much and praising before him the boy who is well brought up; that he should be taught to like choice food for another and to pay little attention to it himself, and to be patient as to coarse food.

“Also he should be taught to like white clothes instead of colored and brocade; and it should be fixed in him that such are the affairs of women and the effeminate, and that men despise them. That should be repeated to him. And whenever he sees upon a boy a garment of brocade or colored, then he ought to blame it. And a boy should be protected from boys who accustom themselves to an easy life and luxury and the wearing of splendid clothes, and from mixing with anyone who will cause him to hear what will make him desire that. For a boy, whenever he is neglected at the beginning of his growth, ends, for the most part, of evil character, a liar, an envier, a thief, a tale-bearer, a wrangler, overmuch of speech and laughter and guile and impudence; he can only be guarded against all that by being well trained.

“Then, it is incumbent that he should be occupied in school and should learn the Qur’ān and the traditions and the stories of the saints and their manner of life, that the love of the pious may be planted in him; and he should be guarded against poems in which there is mention of love and of lovers; and he should be guarded from intercourse with such scholars as maintain that these belong to culture and polish, for they plant in the hearts of youth a corrupt seed.

“Then, when there appears in the boy good disposition and a praiseworthy action, honor ought to be showed to him therefor, and he should be rewarded with what will rejoice him and be praised in the presence of others. Then, if he at sometime does anything different once, no attention should be paid to it, and his veil should not be rent, and he should not be uncovered, and it should not be suggested to him that anyone would dare to do the like, especially if the boy veil it and strive to hide it. For the bringing to light of what he has done will sometimes increase his daring, until he will not pay attention to the uncovering of it. Then, if he do it again, he should be rebuked in secret, and the thing should be magnified to him, and it should be said to him, ‘See that you do not return again to the like of this; if you are known to do the like of this you will be put to shame before men.’ But let not rebuke of him be frequent on every occasion, for the hearing of reproach and the committing of vile things will come to be a slight matter to him, and the effect of speech upon his heart will cease; but let the awfulness of speech from his father be preserved; let him not rebuke him except upon an occasion; and let his mother terrify him with his father and forbid him from vile actions.

“And he ought to be hindered from sleeping by day, for that produces laziness; but he should not be prevented at night; only he should not be allowed a soft bed, that so his limbs may be hardened and his body may not grow fat, so that he may not be able to endure anything but pleasantness; rather let him practice hardness in bedding and clothing and food; and he ought to be hindered from anything which he does in secrecy, for he would not conceal it if he did not believe that it was vile; then if he is let alone in that he becomes accustomed to the

doing of what is vile. And he should practice, part of the day, walking and motion and exercise, so that laziness may not get control of him; and he should practice not to leave his extremities uncovered, and not to hurry in walking, and not to let his hands drop loosely, but to hold them firmly to his breast; and he should be prevented from boasting himself over his fellows as to anything which his parents possess or as to anything of his food or dress or tablet or ink-bottle; rather, he should be practiced in humility and the rendering of honor to all with whom he comes in contact, and in gentleness of speech with them; and he should be prevented from taking anything from boys; if he be of the children of the respected, rather let him know that loftiness consists in giving, not in taking, and that taking is blameworthy and ignoble and low; and if he is of the children of the poor, that seeking and taking are disgrace and meanness, and that such actions are of the nature of a dog, for it glares in expectation of a morsel and in desire for it. In general, the love of gold and silver and the desire for them are vile in boys, and a boy should be guarded against them more than he is guarded against snakes and scorpions, for the bane of the love of gold and silver and the desire for them work more ill in boys than the bane of the simoom, and even upon older people also.

“And he ought to practice not to spit in an assembly, nor to blow the nose, nor to yawn in the presence of others, nor to turn his back upon another, nor to put one foot upon another, nor to put the palm of his hand under his chin, nor to prop his head with his arm—these things are signs of laziness. And he should know how to sit; and he should restrain much speech; and it should be made plain to him that much speech shows shamelessness, and is the action of the sons of the blameworthy; and he should restrain himself from oaths, absolutely, whether they are true or false, so that he may not become accustomed to them in youth; and he should restrain himself from beginning to speak first; and he should practice not to talk except by way of answer and only as much as the question requires; and that he should listen attentively whenever another talks to him of those who are older than he; and that he should rise up for

him who is above him and give him place, and sit before him, and should restrain himself from vain and immoderate speech, and from cursing and abusing, and from intercourse with him upon those tongue anything of that kind runs. For that necessarily comes from comradeship with evil and the root of the education of boys is guarding from comradeship with evil.

"And whenever his teacher strikes him, he ought not to cry out much, nor seek the intercession of anyone, but he should be patient and remember that such is the nature of the brave and of men, and that much crying out is the nature of slaves and women; and his teacher should permit him, after he has turned from his books, to play with such a pleasant play as will rest him from the weariness of school, so that he shall not be wearied in play. For keeping the boy from play and keeping him at learning continually destroys the mind and blunts sharpness and embitters life so that he will seek out some stratagem to be free of it absolutely.

"And he ought to learn to obey his parents and his teacher and his educator and everyone that is older than he, both relations and not, and that he should look upon them, honoring them and magnifying them, and should not play before them; and when he has reached years of discernment, he ought not to be spared observing the laws of purification and prayer, and he should be commanded to fast on some days of Ramadān, and to leave off wearing silk and brocade and gold; and he should learn all that behooves him of the restrictive ordinances of the law; and he should be made to fear theft and eating of what is unlawful and lying and shamelessness and everything that prevails among boys.

"Then, if he has grown up in this way in youth, it will be possible, when he has arrived at maturity, to instruct him in the secret meanings of those things, and he may be told that foods are but remedies, and that their only object is to strengthen man for the obedience of God; and that the world as a whole has no root since it has no abiding and death cuts off its pleasures, and that it is an abode which passes away, not an abode which abides, while the other world is an abode which abides, that passes not away; and that death should be looked

for at any moment, and that the shrewd and prudent is he who gathers provision from this world for the other, so that his rank may be magnified with God, and his pleasure in Paradise may be enlarged.

“Then, if the growing up has been healthy, this explanation at time of maturity will make a healthy impression, abiding in the heart as engraving abides on a stone. But if the growing up has been different from that given above, so that the boy has been given to play and immoderation and impudence and greediness in food and dress and adornment and to boasting, of himself, his mind will break away from receiving the truth, as a wall of dry earth breaks away. And it is the beginnings of things which ought to be considered. For a boy in his nature is created capable of receiving good and bad equally and only his parents turn him to one of the two sides. The Prophet said, ‘Every child is born with a natural religious faculty and it is only his parents who make him a Christian or a Jew or a Magian.’ Sahl b. ‘Abd Allāh at-Tusturī said, ‘When I was a child of three years old, I used to rise in the night and watch the prayer of my uncle, Muhammad b. Sawwār. Then he said to me one day, “Are you not mindful of God who created you?” I said, “How ought I to be mindful of him?” He said, “Say in your heart, when you are putting on your clothes, three times without moving your tongue, ‘Allah is with me; Allah beholds me; Allah witnesseth me.’” So I said that for some nights; then I told him that. So he said, “Say it every night seven times.” So I said it and told him that. Then he said, “Say it every night eleven times.” So I said it. And the sweetness of it fell into my heart. Then, after a year had passed, my uncle said, “Guard what I have taught you and abide in it until you enter the grave, for it will avail you in this world and the next.” So I ceased not doing that for years, and found therein a sweetness in my secret soul. Thereafter, my uncle said to me, one day, “O Sahl, he with whom God is, whom God beholdeth and witnesseth, can he be rebellious against God? Beware of rebellion!” And I used to keep alone with myself. Then they sent me to school, and I said, “I fear that my spiritual solicitude will be separated from me.” But they made a con-

dition with the teacher that I should go to him at a certain hour, then I should study, then I should return. So I went to the school and learned the Qur'ān and committed it to memory when I was six or seven years old. And I used to fast from the world, and my food was barley bread when I was twelve years old. Then, a religious question occurred to me when I was thirteen, and I asked my people that they would send me to the people of al-Basra, that I might ask concerning it. So I came to al-Basra and asked the learned there, but none availed anything to heal me; so I went to Abbādan, to a man who was known as Abū Habīb Hamza b. Abī Abd Allāh al-Abbādānī. So I asked him of it, and he resolved it to me. So I remained with him for a space, profiting by his words and being educated by his accomplishments. Then I returned to Tustur and kept my food within bounds, on the basis that I would buy for myself, with a dirhem, some musty barley, then it would be ground and baked for me, and I would break my fast at dawn upon the weight of an *ūqīya* of it, plain, without salt or seasoning. And that dirhem would suffice me for a year. Then I determined that I would fast three nights, then break my fast one night; then five; then seven; then five-and-twenty nights. And I held to that for a year; then I went out wandering in the earth for years; then I returned to Tustur, and I used to stand in prayer during the whole night, so long as God willed.' Ahmad said, 'I never saw him eat salt, until he met God Most High.' "

You will easily see the point of this last narrative. As the twig is bent, so the tree grows; that for al-Ghazzālī is the whole secret of religious training. You will notice also how easily he passes from the moral training of children in general to a special case of infant asceticism and religious devotion. Life in the world and in religion, moral training and devout contemplation, all run together for him. Further, moral training as to principles and those rules of decent conduct which we sometimes call minor morals are parts of one whole. Indeed, he makes skilful use of such details to form habits from which principles may thereafter spring. A child who is taught al-

ways to stand in respectful attention to his elders will easily learn the meaning and value of respect, reverence, devotion, as principles in life. I need not enter on the many other details of the same kind which this long extract shows. Only, understand that in all this al-Ghazzālī is not an isolated, individual voice, but is expressing the attitude of all Islām.

Finally, let me give another extract which puts, even more clearly, the gradual development from mechanical acceptance to intelligent grasp. It deals, it is true, in the first instance, with theology, but theology and ethics, as I have already said, are one in Islām. It comes in al-Ghazzālī's work after a creed which he composed specially to be learned by heart by children. This creed you will find translated in my "Development of Muslim Theology" where it occupies eight small-type pages. You will probably have perceived already that Muhammadan religious education moves on a strenuous plane and that the well trained Muhammadan child would think little of such trifles as our Westminster Shorter Catechism.

After his creed for infant minds al-Ghazzālī thus continues (ii, pp. 42 ff) :

"On the method of gradual approach to guidance and the ordering of the stages of belief.

"Know that what we have mentioned in the preceding creed ought to be taught to a boy in earliest childhood, so that he may hold it absolutely in memory. Thereafter, the meaning of it will keep gradually unfolding itself to him, point by point, as he grows older. So, first, is the committing to memory ; then understanding ; then belief and certainty and acceptance. That is what results in a boy without proof ; it is by the grace of God upon the heart of man that He opens him in earliest childhood to faith without need of evidence or proof. How can that be denied, seeing that all the creeds of the mass of the people, in their beginnings are simple imitation and acceptance of authority purely ?

"It is true that the belief which results from simple acceptance on authority is not free from a certain weakness at the beginning, in the sense that it is capable of being destroyed by

contradiction if it meets with that. So there must needs be a strengthening of it, and a supporting of it in the soul of the boy and with the common people until it is firmly rooted and cannot be shaken. But the method of strengthening and confirming it is not that he should be taught the art of disputation and scholastic theology, but that he should occupy himself in the recital and exposition of the Qur'ān and in the reading of traditions of Muhammad and their meanings and in the functions of the acts of worship. Then his belief will continue to increase in firm-rootedness through what meets his ear of the proofs and evidences of the Qur'ān and through what shines out upon him from the lights and functions of acts of worship, and what reaches him from observation of the pious and their intercourse and their signs and their practices in humility to God, in fear of Him and submission to Him. So the beginning of imitation is like the casting of seed into the bosom, and these other causes are like the tending and watering of it until that seed sprouts and grows strong and rises into a pleasant tree, well rooted, with its stem firm and its branches in the heavens.

“But he should be guarded in the most absolute way from hearing disputation and from scholastic theology. For the degree to which disputation discomposes him and to which it injures him is greater than that to which it benefits him. Strengthening him by disputation would resemble beating a tree with a pestle of iron in the hope to increase its fruits. But such treatment mostly crushes and injures it. That is what happens usually; and observation will show you this sufficiently. Compare, then, the creed of the pious and God-fearing from the masses of the people with the creed of scholastic theologians and disputers, and you will see that the creed of the people is like a lofty mountain which calamities and thunderbolts cannot move, but the creed of the theologian who is on guard and his belief in the subtleties of disputation are like a thread hung in the air, which the winds move at one time thus, and at another time thus. And if anyone hears from them the proof of the belief, and accepts it on authority, is he not like one who accepts the belief itself on authority? For there is no distinction with

regard to accepting on authority, between learning the proof or learning the thing proved. Imitation of a proof is one thing and developing a proof by meditation is another thing, far distant from the first.

“Then, when the early development of a boy has been according to this creed, if he busies himself with the gain of this world, nothing more than this creed will be open to him, but he will be safe in the world to come through belief in the truth, since the law did not impose upon wild Arabs more than acceptance of the external meaning of these doctrines. As for investigation and seeking and requiring of proofs, they were not held to that at all. But if he desires to be one of those who follow the path of the other world, and if Providence assist him, so that he occupy himself with works and hold to the fear of God and deny his soul to lust and occupy himself with exercises and striving, gates of guidance will be opened, revealing the essential proofs of this creed, through a divine light which will be poured into his heart on account of his striving, in accordance with the promise of God when He said, ‘And those who strive for Us, We will indeed guide them in Our paths. And verily God is with the well-doers’ ” (Qur. xxix, 69).

These are all actual words of Islām and will probably suffice to make plain to you the fundamental Muslim position on the training of children. Briefly, they advocate, first, mechanical imitation and practice; to grow, second, into habit; and, third, into intellectual acceptance and devotion. That imitation has its object first and principally in the figure of Muhammad, imitation of whom is the ideal of all Muslims. Therefore children learn by heart from the earliest the Qur’ān, which is the character of the Prophet, and the traditions which tell of his words, actions, and ways. Secondly, they learn by heart elaborate creeds, the greater part of which develop the conception of the being and nature of God and thus have a converse action on the heart of their learners. A pretty description has come down to us in the biographies of Saladin of how he made one of his court chaplains draw up for him a special little creed and how he used himself to instruct his children in it and make

them repeat it to him. The gulf between Islām and the Christendom of that day may be felt when we try to imagine Richard Lion-Heart—Richard Yea-and-Nay—doing anything of the kind. Thirdly, use is made of the enormous Muslim literature of moral tales and sayings, edifying stories of saints and their godly words. For these, I need only refer you to the “Thousand and One Nights”; it is full of them. Though we, nowadays, shrink from didactic stories and hackneyed quotations, we must remember that the oriental who is still a child, has no such reluctance. In the “Thousand and One Nights” also you will find reference to the institution of the *Wasīya* or death-bed exhortation which a dying father is expected to give to his son, and some examples of it. Finally, to that book I would send you, if you wish to learn to appreciate the moral tone, the standards and attitude of Islām; you will meet these there at their best and at their worst. In the “Nights,” it is true, there is little direct information on our present subject, but only there can you find in English—and perhaps even in Arabic—the atmosphere, the ideals, and ideas which can make real and living the subject which I have now had the honor to lay before you. To that book I send you with confidence.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.